

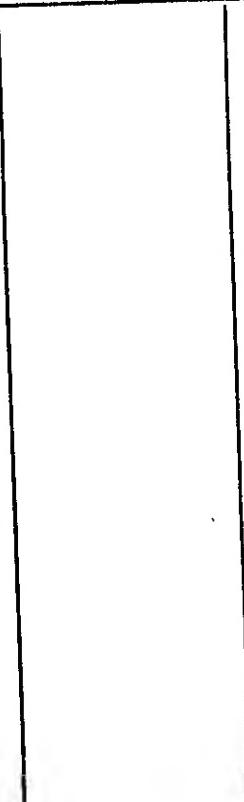
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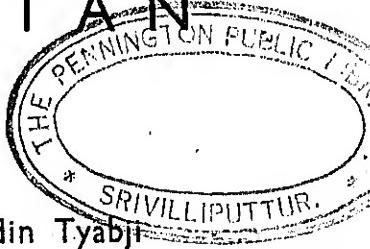


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INDIAN AFFAIRS SERIES NO. 3

WHY  
MUSSALMANS SHOULD  
OPPOSE  
**PAKISTAN**

By  
Husain Badruddin Tyabji



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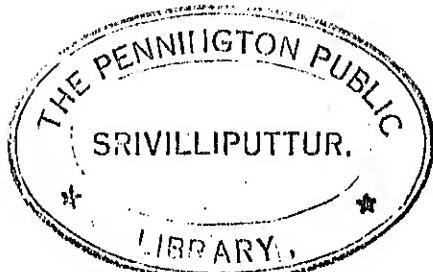
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## WHY MUSSALMANS SHOULD OPPOSE PAKISTAN?

### A Natural Wish

Why should Mussalmans oppose Pakistan? It is natural for every Mussalman to wish for the country he lives in to be Muslim, as it must be for every Hindu to wish his country to be Hindu. Then, why should Mussalmans oppose Pakistan? The idea of Pakistan is based upon the foundation that Hindus and Muslims cannot jointly organise a state which would not oppress or harm the Mussalmans, where the Mussalmans are in a minority.

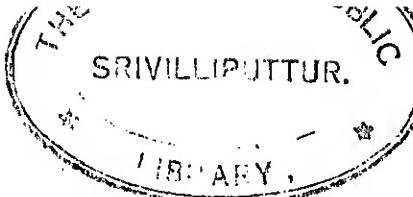
### Past Form Of Government

In the past there were Hindu Kings or princes ruling over large number of Mussalmans as in Baroda, Gwalior, Mysore or Kashmir—and in Kashmir the Mussalmans are actually in the majority—or, there were Mussalman Kings over Hindu populations. In the course of time there was adjustment, and though the ruling power was despotic, vested in the hands of a few court officials, whether they be Hindu or Mussalman, the people lived and thrived.

### The Future Form of Government

Man's system of government has advanced, as he has advanced in every other class of knowledge.

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### The Future Form of Government

Man's system of government has advanced, as he has advanced in every other class of knowledge.

Despotism and monarchy have given way to the principle 'Government by the people, of the people, and for the people.' The state to prosper and be strong must be based on the contentment of all. It must be united. If this is essential wisdom, are Indians, Hindus or Mahomedans, incapable of learning it or giving effect to it? Indians are supposed to be among the most gifted and most intelligent races of the world with a long history of government. There seems no reason to believe that they will resort to fratricide or suicide. At all events, monarchy and despotism are gone for ever. What then? There must be and there will be Mussalmans and Hindus in every part of India and they will have to adjust their differences whatever they may be.

#### **Exclusive Possession Necessary For A Partition**

Assuming that the Hindus and Mahomedans do not desire to live together, and wish to separate, and divide the country as two brothers divide an estate, so that each is independent of the other, and has exclusive possession of his own share, then the Hindus and Mahomedans must effect such a partition that each has an exclusive possession of his own part, without interference of the other. But in the division proposed, in each part the presence of the other continues, and there is no exclusion, nor can there be a division of India so as completely to exclude either of these communities.

### **Partition Means Loss**

If this is so, what is the use of partitioning the country? Would the value be the same if a diamond or pearl is cut and divided proportionately among two brothers?

Some Mussalmans believe that Hindus and Mussalmans can never be friendly or work together. They believe that they are themselves an inoffensive God-fearing people who desire to be brotherly and just to Hindus, only the Hindus do not respond as they are full of hatred and contempt for Mussalmans. This is perfectly true of some Hindus. On the other hand there are some fanatical bigoted Mussalmans who sick or dying would refuse to drink from the cup of a Hindu. Of both classes there are some who would deem it no sin to cut to pieces those of the other faith. These are the people who become the ready tools for those who would cut the people asunder. But the successors of Babar made the Hindus forget the wrongs of conquest, and so gained their confidence that the highest offices of Finance and Army were filled by them. Today Hindu States employ Muslim prime ministers and their councils are presided by Muslims and vice versa in case of Muslim States. And in our daily life no one thinks, whether the physician, counsel, architect or attorney is a Muslim or a Hindu.

If the successors of Babar welded the Hindus and Mussalmans into one, it is incredible that it

cannot be done now. The fact remains it is statesmanship to weld them together, 'breakmanship' to tear them asunder.

### **The 'Bloc' Of Muslim States**

The proposal of Pakistan is that there should be a 'bloc' of one independent Mahomedan State formed of Baluchistan, N. W. F. Province, the Punjab, Sind, Bengal and Assam, in all of which except Assam there is a Muslim majority. Will such a bloc be successful and work harmoniously? The Muslims of Sind are in conflict with themselves, and have several parties bitterly hostile to each other. So is it in the Punjab, and in the N.W.F. Province. The Baluchis and Frontier Pathans are altogether a different type of men to those of Bengal and if there are problems to be solved between Hindus and Mahomedans of India, there would also be problems to solve between the Bengali Mahomedans, the Pathans, Baluchis and Sindhis. To the extent that the combination is novel, it is also hazardous and insecure.

### **States Based On Religion**

The scheme of Pakistan would constitute the province of Bengal and the Punjab Mahomedan States—reversing the procedure of Kamal Pasha who turned a Muslim State into a national one. In Bengal as it stands at present there are 54 per

cent Mussalmans and 46 per cent. Hindus. By slight variation of the boundaries, reverse results may follow. Assuming Pakistan to be won, what would the majority do in these provinces? Is it intended to impose its own will upon the minority, probably wealthier and stronger than the majority? That could hardly be wise. The interests of the State would demand that the majority of Mussalmans should arrange terms, and settle disputes if there are any of conflicting interests. And those terms and settlements must be on the same basis of mutual accommodation and mutual regard as where the majority is non-Muslim.

#### Past Muslim' Tendency

An onlooker will observe that when national demands commenced to be made from the Government, the Mussalmans were persuaded to keep aloof on some pretext or other. When the demands were by the most loyal and the most trustworthy Indians the Mussalmans were still persuaded to charge them with disloyalty and to keep aloof and though at times they have worked with the Congress and have made great sacrifices, for 60 years they have more or less kept aloof, whether the question be reduction of salt tax or military charges, or N. W. Frontier Expedition, separation of the Judicial and Executive, or prohibition of liquor.

### **Origin Of The Name Pakistan**

Such is the history of Muslim politics and such is the inheritance, the Muslim League has embraced. The last stage of it is the demand for the division of India into two parts. The Muslims will call their part Pakistan—the country of the 'Pure'—the rest is privileged to remain Hindustan—and such a division is claimed as the most equitable to bring about that just and friendly settlement between the two great religious communities of India which they say they desire. The name Pakistan is selected and sought to be justified as appropriate on the ground that it is formed out of the initials of the provinces of the Punjab, Afghanistan, and Kashmir. But Punjab can hardly be Pakistan when nearly half of the population is non-Muslim. The Amir of Afghanistan does not yet seem to have consented to be under the League, and Kashmir has been dropped out from the scheme. So there remains only P—and this P of the Punjab is to suffice to bear the burden of the name of Pakistan, which is to include the N. W. Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Sindh, Bengal and Assam. So far, the N. W. Frontier Province does not seem very anxious to be a party to this division, and Bengal again as the Punjab has nearly half its population non-Muslim.

### **Violence To Islam**

Such is the name invented for an *entente cordiale*. It ignores the fact that it is violence to

Islam. The Pakistan of the Muslims is Arbastan, the sacred place where the Holy Prophet was born, where he delivered his mission and died. No other place can claim that name. Certainly not such as has a large non-Muslim population and in no sense sacred to Islam. It is also offensive to the rest of India from which it claims to separate on the ground of difference in religion.

#### **The Economic And Financial Consideration**

So far as the Economic and Financial side of the question is concerned "now that India is politically a well-knit unitary state with its own army, railway, posts and telegraphs, customs, currency, and credit system," Sir Ardesir Dalal says: "The difficulties of splitting up this unit into a number of fragments are so great as to be well nigh insuperable. The railways, posts and telegraphs, irrigation and water works, have to be cut up. Adequate adjustments with regard to the national debt incurred on all these projects will have to be made. The whole currency and credit system will have to be broken up and created anew. The army will similarly have to be broken up and the past liabilities and future expenditure adjusted. A large sum of money has been spent out of the revenues of India on projects such as the Sukkur Barrage in Sind. Payment will have to be made by 'Pakistan' for this as well as for similar expenditure incurred by the Government of India for capital works inside Pakistan and

counter-balanced against the 'Pakistan' share of capital expenditure incurred by the Government of India in 'Hindustan.' When all these complicated, difficult and heart-breaking processes have been gone through, if they can be gone through without innumerable bickerings and troubles, 'Pakistan' will emerge out of it a comparatively poor resourceless state. With innumerable problems immediately to be handled and a burden of debt difficult to repay, it will cut itself off from the great economic and industrial future which a self-governing India may look forward to. There will be a great urge to impose heavy customs duties on goods from 'Hindustan' to fill its depleted coffers and that in itself will not only hinder industrial progress, but might well be a fertile source of trouble between the two states." Thus, Sir Ardeshir Dalal thinks the objections to 'Pakistan' are so obvious that they hardly need emphasizing, and he considers them to be more disastrous to 'Pakistan' than to 'Hindustan.' (Sir Ardeshir Dalal's Alternative to Pakistan, pp. 4-5).

#### Is The Demand Just?

Let us now see whether the demand is made on just and reasonable grounds. It is said to be based upon the right of self-determination. That right is accorded to the inhabitants of a place to determine what government they shall have. But the League says, 'the Mussalmans of the province alone shall determine the question,' not the rest

of the people. In Bengal where there are 54 per cent. Mahomedans and 46 per cent. Hindus, it is the Mahomedans alone who shall be asked, and if there is a majority among Mahomedans, say 28 against 26, it is demanded that the voice of 28 shall prevail against the voice of the remaining 26 Mahomedans and the 46 Hindus, i.e., 28 against 72 of whom 26 may be Mahomedans. Can this be regarded as reasonable or just even by Mahomedans? Can it ever be accepted by the Hindus? Certainly not, and therefore such determination can only be by violence, not by agreement. And if it is by violence what would be the relation between the Mussalmans and the 46 per cent of Hindus with whom reasonable Mussalmans would sympathise?

#### **Whose Demand Is It? Bengal's?**

But had the Bengal Mahomedans ever asked for it during the last 75 years? No. It is the Muslim League who makes this demand for them, and by its widespread organization and propaganda is sweeping the Mussalmans into its camp, as the Fascists of Hitler did. And if they succeed for the time, the result may be like that of Nazism of Hitler or Fascism of Mussolini.

#### **Demand Of The Punjab?**

What has been said about Bengal in many ways is applicable to the Punjab. There, too, the representation of Sikhs and Hindus is about equal

to that of the Muslims and Muslim majority will be compelled to accommodate and harmonise the life of the people by mutual concessions in common interest. As to the N. W. Frontier Province, so far as can now be judged, it is against separation from the rest of India. Thus the whole demand is by outsiders, not the parties concerned. But there is another essential element in the question of Pakistan which must be considered.

#### **The Word 'Nation'**

It is said that Hindus and Mussalmans are two nations. The words 'nation' and 'native' are derived from the Latin word 'nationem,'—natus = born,—They mean born in a country. It is as absurd and ridiculous to say that by change of faith a man ceases to be born of that country, as absurd as to say that an Englishman ceases to be so if he becomes a communist, or a Mahomedan.

#### **"Two Major Nations"**

It has been asserted, "that Muslims and Hindus are two major nations by any definition or test of a nation" (Mr. Jinnah to Mr. Gandhi on 17th Sept., 1944), when by every definition or test of a nation they are really one nation.

#### **Sir Syed Ahmed: "You Are One Nation"**

This is what Syed Ahmad Khan said at Gurdaspur on 27th January, 1884 when he was in his 68th year of age:—

"In old historical books and traditions you will have read and heard, and we see it even now, that all people inhabiting one country are designated by the term 'one nation.' The different tribes of Afghanistan are termed one nation, and so are the miscellaneous hordes peopling Iran distinguished by the term 'Iranians,' and though abounding in variety of thoughts and religions, are still known as members of one nation, though people of other countries also do come and settle with them, but being mixed together are called members of one and the same nation. So from the oldest times the word 'nation' is applied to the inhabitants of one country, though they differ in some peculiarities which are characteristic of their own. Hindu and Mohamedan brethren, do you people any country other than Hindustan? Do you not inhabit the same land? Are you not burned and buried on the same soil? Do you not tread the same ground, and live upon the same soil? Remember that the words Hindu and Mohamedan are only meant for religious distinction—otherwise all persons whether Hindus or Mohamedans, even the Christians who reside in this country, are all in this particular respect belonging to one and the same nation. (Cheers). Then all these different sects can only be described as one nation, they must each and all unite for the good of the country which is common to all."

### **"Common Benefits, Common Pangs."**

On the 3rd of February, 1884, Syed Ahmad Khan repeated this at Lahore when he said:—

"In the word Nation I include both Hindus and Mahomedans, because that is the only meaning I can attach to it. With me it is not so much worth considering what is their religious faith because we do not see anything of it. What we do see is that we inhabit the same land, are subject to the rule of the same Governors, the fountains of benefits for all are the same, and the pangs of famine also we suffer equally. These are the different grounds upon which I call both those races which inhabit India by one word, i.e., Hindu, meaning to say that they are the inhabitants of Hindustan."

### **'Shastraic' And 'Muslim' Hindoos**

Patriots may hope that a time will come when we shall all, like Syed Ahmad Khan, call all born in this country 'Hindus' whether they be followers of the Shastras or the Holy Quran,—distinguishing them as Shastraic or Muslim. Thus Muslims born of Arab, Persian, Turkish or Afghan descent though of different races; yet born in India and inhabiting India are Indians and form part of the Indian Nation. There can be no question of those who are mere converts to Islam from Hindu ancestors.

### **The Bond Of Birth**

Then what becomes of the pronouncement that Hindus and Mahomedans are two major nations by any definition or test of a nation? Hitler turned out the German Jews from Germany, saying that they were not of the Nordic race. Will the Muslim League turn out all the Hindus from Bengal? Will it free the Indians of the Muslim Faith from all habitation, and all ties to the country of their birth? According to the League, the Muslims of India by reason of their religion are of another nation. What nation? Will it name? Will the Afghan, Arab, Turk, Iranian, Syrian or Egyptian accept them as Arabs or Turks or Afghans or will they be treated like the crows with the peacock feathers?

### **International Law**

The President of the Muslim League said, "We are a Nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions, and in short we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international law, we are a nation." (Mr. Jinnah to Mr. Gandhi, 17-9-44).

### **Custom And Culture**

A Muslim may be pictured with a majestic beard in flowing robes and turban and loose

trousers, with saleem shahi shoes, seated on a takht reclining with cushions at his back, eating pan, with a spitoon by his side, abhorring wine, gurgling with a huqqa, or chanting prayers with a rosary in his hands, or reading the Koran, fasting and praying, observing the Muslim calendar and the ceremonies of the holy days, reading Urdu, Persian and Arabic, in a house of Muslim architecture, himself proud of a pure Muslim name, governed by wholly Muslim laws. Is his son's nationality changed when with neither beard nor moustache, in western costume, most unsuitable for the ablutions kneelings and prostrations of Muslim prayers, he has abandoned every single one of the above items? You will say certainly not. But if that is so, then none of these things have anything to do with nationality, which determines the duty to protect one's country, which is his home, and organize its internal administration by united action of all inhabitants, however different their mentality, opinions, or creed may be. The assertion, therefore, that by all canons of international law a person born in India and of Indian born parents, is of a different nation by reason of his religion being Islam, is as baseless as the demand for the right of self-determination to be exercised by the Muslims alone of the District, however important or numerically large the Hindus may be. If therefore the Mussalmans believe that nothing which is unjust and unfair

will prosper, they must not make conditions or demands which are unjust, or they will not in the end prosper.

#### Practicability

And now comes the question of practicability. The President of the Muslim League has threatened a fight. Does he expect the threat to be sufficient? Does he wish to turn every district, town and village into a scene of bloodshed and destruction, to be continued from generation to generation? In that case the Leaguer may rest assured that another race will soon make slaves of the Leaguers and non-Leaguers both.

#### Isolation Of Muslim Majorities

One other fact must be noted. Assuming that the claim of Pakistan was accepted with the conditions above mentioned in its entirety, which as has been stated above, is not likely ever to be accepted by the Hindus, nor it would seem, for the present at all events, by the Mussalmans of the N. W. Frontier Province, then there would be two parts of Pakistan, of which one would be Bengal and Assam on the extreme east, and the rest composed of the N. W. Frontier Province, the Punjab and Sindh. On the East, Bengal with 46% of Hindu population inside and Assam, would thus be separated from the Western territory by the provinces of Bihar, Orissa, and the United Provinces of Hindustan with large Hindu major-

rities. It will be apparent that such a thing is not very desirable, or a very satisfactory solution of whatever problems there may be between the two communities. But if the claim of Pakistan is not accepted by the Punjab or the N. W. Frontier Province then the isolation of Bengal and Orissa would be far more perilous, with large Hindu populations inside and Hindu majority provinces outside.

#### **Loss Of Power**

Then again, if the Hindu and Muslim population cannot organize a common government with satisfaction and contentment for both, is there to be contentment for Mussalmans in Muslim majority provinces only and not in the rest of India? Are those in the Hindu majority provinces to be relegated to their fate? Is the proposal of the Muslim League this:—"You do what you like with the Muslims in your province, we will do what we like with the Hindus in ours"? The scheme of Pakistan divides the strength of Mussalmans into two halves, one in Pakistan, the other in Hindustan, and sub-divides those in Pakistan into the Western half and the Eastern half of Pakistan. Whereas, in a United India, there would be the strength of a united community of 100 millions. They might aspire to have a powerful voice not only in the whole of India, but also in the Councils of the world, protect Iran, Afghanistan, Turkey, Iraq, Palestine, Syria,

Arabia, Egypt, Morocco, and all the Muslim states on the coast of Africa and in the Pacific. The Muslims of these countries now lament that instead of helping them, we only contribute to keep them enslaved, and can only despise us; and say, "miserable slaves yourselves, you make us slaves."

#### World Opinion

Indeed the disadvantages of the whole policy of the League are so apparent that the Mussalmans all over the world, England, Scotland, Ireland, America, and China, have most unanimously cried against it. So have independent statesmen and well-wishers like De Valera. It is a puzzle to many how it is that Mr. Jinnah so strongly supports it. So far as the League is concerned it is well-known that it receives support from many officials in every way possible. As to Mr. Jinnah himself, the Government is not so foolish or wasteful as to pay him anything. It is more likely to demand a handsome tribute from him for allowing him to be a practical dictator, although of a negative vetoing character. The dictator's powers which he enjoys are more valuable to him than gold, and cheapest to the giver.

#### A Fresh Dependency

God has granted enough lands to Mussalmans all over the continents of Asia and Africa, and they are in need of no more homes. What is the

good of having another Iran or Syria or Iraq under the dictates of foreign powers? What is the good of dividing the strength of the Mussalmans of India, abandoning more than half of them and subjecting them where they would be between 5 and 15% to Hindu majorities, made hostile and bitter against them? Indeed, on reflection, the scheme is so prejudicial to the Mussalmans, that one not intoxicated with the dream might think it is a design of some enemy.

#### **The Demand As A Counter**

There are many who believe that the scheme of Pakistan is so impracticable or absurd and harmful that Mr. Jinnah could not possibly be serious about it. They think that as a very clever diplomatist he uses it as a counter to bargain for the best terms for the Mussalmans. But if 60 years since the Congress came into existence and the past 9 years of the Muslim League are not sufficient to negotiate terms, one may well doubt if there really is a desire to settle them.

#### **Requisites Of A Leader**

The best and perhaps the first argument of the Leaguer is confidence in the outstanding ability and personality of its leader. He would ask, do you claim to be as wise or able? But in a democratic form of Government we must learn to choose not the ablest or the most brilliant, but who would serve us best. Nature, disposition,

character, selflessness, disinterestedness, freedom from the love of power or wealth or honour besides many other things, are elements for consideration in the selection, whether we have to select a dentist, a physician, a solicitor or counsel. Let me give an example. It would be better in a suit for inheritance between two brothers to have a friendly, good-hearted, sensible and reasonable counsel, than to have a brilliant one who will fight to death, raise every dispute, plead every technicality, listen to no compromise, until the estate is exhausted and the parties are dead.

Sixty years have passed. We want disinterested reasonable men with statesmanship and goodwill to settle such questions as cause apprehension to Mussalmans, for the mutual benefit of both Hindus and Mahomedans. The house common to both has been burning all this time.

#### Appeal For Unity

There is constantly an appeal for unity, by the leader of the Muslim League—an appeal that all Mussalmans should rally to the standard of the League. To be a genuine appeal there must be a desire to meet and confer with the leaders of the other Muslim organizations, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, the Khudai Khidmatgars, the Khaksars, the Ahrars, the Nationalist Muslims and others, and a genuine attempt to reconcile the different points of view. If there is neither such an

attempt, nor desire, the appeal does not really mean to them a cohesive unity resulting from combined thought, but elimination of themselves.

#### Pakistan—Cambridge-Made

It seems that the scheme of Pakistan in its present form was first put and propagated through a Cambridge student in England, by name Chowdhary Rahmat Ali, in 1933. It is claimed that this Chowdhary Rahmat Ali is the real founder of the idea of Pakistan, and that what he has said one day has been said by the League the next day. In a prophetic style he has issued to the 'Millat of his Mission' "Seven Commandments of Destiny for the Seventh Continent of Dinia", for India is to become the Dinia of the future. They are published by the 'Pakistan National Movement', at 16 Montagu Road, Cambridge. The principal of the Seven Commandments are "Avoid Minorityism", "Avow Nationalism", "Acquire Proportional Territory", "Consolidate the Individual Nations", "Convert India into Dinia". It is suspected that this really is the scheme of other designers only professing to be friends of Islam.

#### Sir Reginald Craddock

In 1933, at a meeting of the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee, when a deputation representing the All-India Muslim League of which the President then was Sir Muhammad Iqbal, and the All-India Conference of which the President was

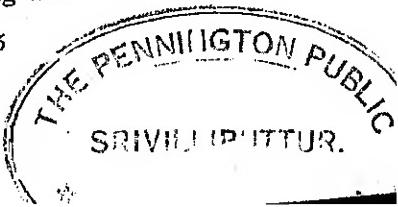
His Highness the Aga Khan, Sir Reginald Craddock inquired of the Delegates what the Pakistan scheme was. When Mr. Abdulla Yusuf Ali, I.C.S., Sir Zaffrulla Khan, and others ridiculed it as a "chimerical", "impracticable", and "irresponsible" "scheme of a student", Sir Reginald Craddock said: "You advance very quickly in India, and it may be when those students grow up it will be put forward". No doubt Sir Reginald Craddock must be delighted to see how quickly Mussalmans have advanced.

But Mussalmans must beware and remember that baits are always most attractive, savoury and enticing, but they lead into traps of death or slavery. Unfortunately advice is bitter.

#### Congress Ideals

As to the Congress, every provision that can be made in a constitution for the protection of religion, language and culture, has been made, and since it is both the duty and interest of the state to keep all its inhabitants contented, it would be foolish and suicidal for the Hindus not to grant reasonable concessions, if any remain insufficiently provided and even to secure them with guarantees, considering there are a 100 million Mussalmans in India. So far as Mussalmans are concerned, they would be best secured, if they are asked in a reasonable and friendly spirit. The only thing that the Mussalmans may rightly claim is that in matters affecting them as a community,

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the executive power should be vested in a council in which the Muslims shall be equal in number to the Hindus, the balance being held by such as may be trusted to be impartial and fit as arbitrators.

#### Congress Mentality

Upon this point I have a letter written by A. O. Hume (the then General Secretary to the Congress) to Badruddin Tyabji, (the then President of the Congress) dated 5th November, 1888 which says:—

"But in order to facilitate this (removing the apprehensions of Mussalmans) they (the Mussalman Moulvies) recommend at the next Congress our passing some rule, to the effect that Government should always so arrange by *nominations*, that they nominate half as many as are elected, you know, as to equalize as nearly as possible the number of Mahomedan and Hindu members to the Council. I have ascertained that Madras, Oudh, the N.-W. Frontier Provinces, the Punjab, and probably Bihar, would support such a rule. I must say the Hindus have surprised me. So many have said, 'for our part we should be very glad to be represented by educated Mahomedans. In all matters of politics we and the Mahomedans are agreed'.

#### Congress Resolution

It may be remembered that Badruddin Tyabji ruled that no matter could be brought forward in

the Congress which did not affect the whole of India, and none to which any community objected, since the Congress was national, of the whole of India. He got a rule passed to that effect, and got that rule incorporated into the Constitution of the Congress, which was as follows:—

"That no subject shall be passed for discussion by the Subjects Committee or allowed to be discussed at any Congress by the President thereof, to the introduction of which the Hindus or Mahomedan Delegates as a body object, unanimously or nearly unanimously, and that if, after the discussion of any subject which has been admitted for discussion it shall appear that all the Hindu or all the Mahomedan Delegates as a body, are unanimously or nearly unanimously opposed to the Resolution which it is proposed to pass thereon, such Resolution shall be dropped; provided that this rule shall refer only to subjects in regard to which the Congress has not already definitely pronounced an opinion." (December, 1888, Allahabad Congress Resolution XIII.)

One may gasp with wonder and surprise that we have not yet found the right ambassador to settle the terms so desirable in the interest of both.

#### The Plea Of Guarantee

The Mussalmans are constantly dissuaded from entering into negotiation with the Hindus on the ground that pacts are mere scraps of paper,

and there are no guarantees. But nature has provided them with natural guarantees. The whole of the N.W. and West of India is all Mussalman. What Government in India would dare to ill-treat the Mussalmans when it would easily mean an invasion by a foreign Muslim state with the Muslims in India ready to open the door and aid from within. It would seem that far from Mussalmans being in need of guarantees, the Hindus may well be full of anxiety for being able so to conduct their affairs as to give no chance to evil-minded persons to misrepresent and create trouble. There are 80-100 million Mussalmans in the country. Their frontier is constituted of almost wholly Muslim Provinces, Baluchistan, N.-W. Frontier Province, Punjab; Kashmir, and they are contiguous to foreign Muslim states.

#### An Irreconcilable Inconsistency

What more guarantee need the Mussalmans? With strange irreconcilable inconsistency the leaders of the League threaten the Hindus with wresting Pakistan by force. They say they are the warrior race, and in the same breath they cease not to argue that the majority of the Hindus would oppress them. But Pakistan would cut the Muslims into 2 halves—those inside Pakistan, much of which is poor, and without resources, and those in Hindustan, a minority, overwhelmed by the Hindus in that half which is industrial and commercial.

To those who looked forward 60 years ago, to the gradual attainment of freedom in India with the generous help of a parental government, the forces now engendered of communalism and religious hatred must be heart-breaking indeed. The hope of some is that the Power which engendered these by communal electorates and patronage on the one hand, and repression on the other, may by a sense of righteousness and pity for the human race, take a new course. Many believe, that in that case the balloon which has been filled with so much poisonous gas and risen so high will soon descend to earth.

#### Conclusion.

On a calm consideration of the question it would seem that there is no ground to break up the one united power of India, that to break it up will not solve the problem but will only aggravate it, that the demand itself is not made on just and proper grounds, that Pakistan is a delusion to divert Mussalmans from their proper course, that it is a delusion that they will attain it; that if they attain it, it will be of no advantage inside Pakistan, and make it worse for Mussalmans outside it; that it will break up the combined strength of the Muslims; and will lose for them the chance of having a powerful and effective voice in the whole of India and in the councils of the world; that the power and prestige of the whole of India would be split and broken, and with it of the Mussalmans of India.

### A Warning

Today the Mussalmans are so fired with religious enthusiasm that they believe that those who do not join them in the cry for Pakistan are traitors to Islam, they call them Hindus and abuse them. Enthusiasm for a just cause is to be admired. The excess they commit is due to their well-meant ardour. Let them, however, know that there are some Mussalmans good and true, of education, Muslim culture and unblemished character, and of families, who have spent generations in the service of Islam and for the prosperity of the Mussalmans, and these think it their duty to warn their brethren against delusions and traps which might be too late to escape if not warned in time. They too like the Leaguers burn with ardour for the good of Islam. And now my task is done. With Hafiz I must say: "Wazifa-e-to, dua guftari ast-o-bus. Dar Bande-aun mabash, keh nashneed, ya shaneed." Thy task but to pray, mind not whether thou art heard or not!

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